

*lit hist. 25.12.*

A

# LETTER TO A FRIEND in the Country, On the PUBLICATION OF THURLOE's ~~h~~ STATE PAPERS.

In which is contained

An impartial Account of the AUTHOR  
and the BOOK; and several *Particulars*  
relating to BRITISH HISTORY are ex-  
amined and set in a True Light.

---

The SECOND EDITION.

---



---

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS near the Oxford Arms  
in Warwick Lane. MDCCXLII.

(Price One Shilling.)

S E T T E

1870.



---

---

A

## LETTER

TO A

FRIEND in the Country,

On the PUBLICATION of

THURLOE's STATE PAPERS.

SIR,

IT is very natural for a Lover of English History to wish for some Account of any remarkable Book of that sort lately come abroad, and the Sight of which he finds it difficult to get. I was not therefore at all surprized when I received so pressing a Letter from you, in relation to *Thurloe's State Papers*. The Work had raised great Expectations on Account of the busy Period of Time to which it relates, and the Fidelity of the Collection, whence the best Judges were led to believe that it would comprise Abundance of remarkable

B

Facts,

Facts, and those too authentically stated. What Wonder then, that a Person like you, who have read so carefully all our antient History, and collected with such Pains whatever might tend to enlighten that of later Times, should be curious to learn the Contents of such a Library, for so I think a Shelf full of Folio's may well enough be called, especially since they refer to such Transactions as have been more immediately the Objects of your Attention, and about which you are therefore the more concerned to receive Satisfaction? But Sir, the Difficulty lies in giving you this Satisfaction.

The respect I have for you is so great, that I should be far from thinking the turning over these Books, supposing I had no other Motive to look into them than the bare obliging you, an *Herculean* Labour; besides the Reasons you offer are in themselves so good, that I think one who has Leisure and calls himself your Friend, could not easily frame an Excuse, which might handsomly acquit him of your Demand. But Sir, how great soever my Inclination may be to gratify your Desire, yet this will not help my Ability, or put it a Jot more in my Power to send you *Thurloe's Collection* in a *Nutshell*. But to shew you Sir, that I have no Mind to strain Compliments in order to make you set a Value upon my Performance

Performance by telling what mighty Pains it cost me, I will come immediately to the Point, and shew you in few Words what I take to be the most natural Method of giving you a Taste of this Work, in order to settle your Judgment of it and determine that important Question, whether you shall lay out a clear Tenth of the Annual Income of your Vicarage upon it when you come next to Town.

With your Leave Sir, I will first make you acquainted a little with Mr. *Thurloe*, not that I believe you never heard of the Protector's Secretary, the wise Man who made his Chambers as remarkable in *Lincoln's Inn*, as his Master did his in *Sidney College*, but I mean to give you a just Notion of him free from those Prejudices, which a Royalist naturally has against him, or those extravagant Panegyricks into which every Republican falls, when he mentions the Name of *Thurloe*. Next Sir, I will give you the History, Character and Plan of the Work itself, tell you how the World came to expect it, why they expected it, and lastly Sir, by running through the remarkable things I met with in the first Volume, I shall endeavour to make you comprehend how far it has answered the World's Expectations. If I succeed I know your Goodness will incline you to cover me with Compliments, which will over-pay your

humble Servant; but if you should either think the Book flat or my Account of it a dull one, I hope, though a Country Parson, you will have more Manners than to tell me so, because that would mortify your humble Servant, and besides would baulk your own Hopes of knowing what is in the second Volume. But Raillery apart! Let us receive the Secretary with Decency.

*John Thurloe* Esq. was the Son of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Thurloe* a Clergyman of *Essex*, and was born at his Father's Living at *Abbots-Roding* in that County in the Year 1616; we have no Account of his Junior Years or where he received his Education, I say we have no Account of this in his Life written by the Editor, but I have often heard it said by Gentlemen in the *Isle of Ely*, where Mr. *Thurloe* long lived and had a good Estate, that he was either a Member of the University of Cambridge or at least went to School there, which is the more probable, because in 1658, the University chose him for their Representative.

When he was fit to enter upon business, his Father procured him a Recommendation to the famous Mr. *Oliver St. John*, whose Name makes such a Figure in the History of those times, with whom he lived many Years, and to whose Favour he ow'd the Foundation of his Fortunes, since by him he

he was promoted to be Secretary to the Parliament Commissioners at the Treaty of *Uxbridge* in 1645, which was his first publick Employment. I must observe to you that Mr. *Thurloe* always retain'd a deep Respect for his Old Master, and a grateful Remembrance of the Kindnesses he received from him, of which he gave a strong Proof, a little after the Restauration. For understanding that the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* was charged with having been a Principal Instrument in advising and perswading the Death of the King, the setting up *Oliver*, and after him *Richard Cromwell* as chief Magistrates of *England* by the Title of Protectors, and that he (Mr. *Thurloe*) was privy to this, and might do a grateful Service to the Government, by proving it. The Use he made of the Information was to destroy the Credit of the Facts, and to hazard his own Safety to secure his Old Master. With this view he wrote a Letter to Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* then Speaker of the House of Commons, wherein he told him that he had often heard my Lord *St. John* express his Dislike of the King's Murder, and of the Proceedings of the Army then, and long before that time; that as to *Oliver's* Government, his Lordship never thought it lawful, and was so little a Friend to it, that such as loved him had sometimes much ado to save him from suffering under it,

it, that as to setting up or restoring *Richard*, it was a thing he had nothing to do with; and the justifying all this Mr. *Thurloe* said he owed to Truth and the Innocence of the Chief Justice, which was certainly true, but another Man might perhaps have scrupled paying the Debt at that Juncture <sup>a</sup>. This Sir I mention to shew you the Spirit and Integrity of the Man, though the Writer of his Life takes no Notice of this Passage.

In 1647 he was admitted of *Lincoln's Inn*, and not to trouble you with the Bead Roll of all his Preferments, I shall content myself with telling you that in 1651, he attended the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* and *Walter Strickland Esq.* in their Ambassy to the States General, where, as his Masters acquired such a Dislike to the Government, as produced the first *Dutch War*, so it appears that Mr. *Thurloe* came to have a thorough Aversion to the People <sup>b</sup>, and was never a good Friend to the *Dutch* after. On his Return he was appointed Secretary to the Council of State, the Step from whence he rose to be Secretary to the Protectors, and then the Society of *Lincoln's Inn* in compliment to his Dignity called him to be one of the Masters of the Bench of that Society. The better to sup-

<sup>a</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 914.  
vol. i. p. 136.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*  
port

port his new Preferment, the Direction of the Postage of Letters in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* was bestowed on him, which as it must have been on the one hand a very profitable Employment, so on the other, it must have afforded him great Opportunities of detecting such Correspondencies as were prejudicial to the State, and therefore this ought to be looked upon as a Capital Stroke of Policy in those times.

In the seven Years Administration of Mr. Secretary *Thurloe* all things were managed in his Office with such Diligence, Dexterity, and Success, that he not only raised his own Reputation, but that also of his Master. In Parliament he spoke with great Strength as well as with wonderful Readiness, he defended his Master's Measures with a great deal of Warmth, and yet with much Decency and due Submission to the House, but he appears to have been a determined Enemy to the Cavaliers, by a Speech he made in Parliament to justify the raising farther Contributions from them, notwithstanding their Composition<sup>c</sup>. In respect to his Office as Secretary the Book before us is an incontestable Proof, not only of his Abilities but of his uncommon Accuracy and indefatigable Industry. From hence it is apparent that he kept up a universal Correspondence at home and Abroad, had a prodigious Fund

<sup>c</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. v. p. 786.

of Intelligence, and managed it with such Address as neither shew'd an overweening Fondness for all Sorts of News, or a troublesome Nicety in criticising the Letters of his Correspondents. This Conduct and the Success which attended it, established the Character he acquired of an able Politician, but as the Many are very apt to mistake Learn'd Men for Conjurers, so in regard to Persons in his Station, they are forced to form to themselves strange Stories of meeting People in the Fields at Midnight or giving a Stranger a large Sum of Money upon *Gray's Inn* Terras, to account for such Discoveries as seem beyond the Ordinary Course of things to them. But to deal ingenuously with you, the Perusal of this Collection has quite cured me of such Notions, and as I am perswaded that the Dæmon of *Socrates* was a Word which meant no more than his having a strong Understanding, so I am convinced that the Diligence and Sagacity of Mr. *Thurloe* were the great Engines he employ'd; and I think from the Perusal of these Volumes I might be bold enough to tell you, that his Expence for Secret Service Money did not much exceed 2000*l.* a Year, which I take to be a great Addition to his Character, for to have the best Intelligence and pay the least for it, is sure the highest Strain of Ministerial Excellence.

In the Life of *Thurloe* prefixed to this Collection there is a long Story from *Burnet*, which he says he had from *Stoupe*<sup>d</sup>. This Man was by Profession a Spy, served *Cromwell* in that Capacity, and the Spanish Ambassador as a Spy upon *Cromwell*. This Mr. *Stoupe* told *Burnet*, that he received a Letter from *Flanders* informing him that a Person was gone from thence with a Design to kill the Protector, and lodged in *King's Street Westminster*, which piece of Intelligence he would have communicated to *Cromwell*, but the Protector being very busy referr'd him to *Thurloe*, who treated the Information coldly, and refused to search *King's Street*. When *Syndercombe*'s Plot broke out, *Stoupe* insisted that he had given the earliest Intelligence of it, upon which the Protector is said to have sent for *Thurloe*, and to have been very angry with him, but that after *Stoupe* was dismissed, *Thurloe* vindicated himself so well to the Protector, and represented the *Frenchman* in such a Light that he never had any Credit with his Highness afterward. The Tale is pretty and may serve to amuse a Reader unacquainted with this Period of our History, but certainly it could not be true. *Syndercombe* was much better known to *Cromwell* and *Thurloe* than he could possibly be to *Stoupe*. He had served

<sup>d</sup> See Bp. *Burnet*'s Introduction to the History of his own Times.

in the Parliament Army during the War, was afterwards a Soldier in *Scotland* under *Monk*, where he form'd a Conspiracy against him, for which he was seized and sent into *England*. All this was well known to *Thurloe*, who had his Eye upon the Man constantly, and was Master of the whole Design against *Cromwell* from the Time it was first in Agitation. Besides there are abundance of Letters from *Stoupe* in this Collection, which shew him to have been a very busy troublesome Fellow and to have known little or nothing but what he picked up from Persons newly come from abroad, whom he attended as a kind of Interpreter.

As to the Tale of *Thurloe* and Sir *Richard Willis* with the Episodc of Mr. *Morland* pretending to be asleep upon his Desk, and thereby escaping *Cromwell's* Dagger, it is too well known to you for me to repeat it. I shall only tell you that I find nothing in this Collection to justify it, nor indeed is there much to fix an Imputation on Sir *Richard Willis*. I make, however, no Doubt of his Treachery, because we have clear and authentick Authorities for it elsewhere. But then I am as clear that *Thurloe* would enter into no Plots with him against the Person of King *Charles II*; for it appears evidently through this whole Collection that he kept exactly within the Bounds of his Duty to the Family that raised him, without running

running into any such Excesses, as could serve only to prejudice himself. Thus in the Parliament called by *Richard Cromwell*, Secretary *Thurloe* pushed the Bill for recognizing the new Protector with extraordinary Warmth and Success, for which he is severely censured by *Ludlow*<sup>e</sup>. When he discerned that the Confidence reposed in him by his Master was like to be prejudicial to the Protector's Affairs, he readily offer'd to resign his Employments though he still persisted in Council to give his Master such Advices as were most for his Service and least for *Thurloe's* Safety, exhorting him especially to depend upon the Parliament, and to make Use of their Authority to keep the Army in Order. The Neglect of this Advice, which however agreed with *Richard's* own Sentiments, prov'd his Ruin, for when he had once dissolved the Parliament, the Army soon ridded themselves of his Highness.

It is certain that whatever Opinion Chancellor *Hyde* might have of Secretary *Thurloe's* Abilities, he was very apprehensive as to his Intentions, and looked upon him as a very dangerous Person and one whose Continuance in Office, might be prejudicial to the Designs then in Agitation for the King's Service. Yet when the Restauration was very near, Mr. *Thurloe* made a full and

<sup>e</sup> *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 623.

frank Tender of his Duty and Service to his Majesty, which however does not seem to have been received with much Satisfaction by the King and his Ministers, which appears by a Letter from Sir *Edward Hide* to Sir *John Greenville*<sup>f</sup>, wherein the whole Affair is laid open, and he is desired to communicate it to *Monk*. Whether this Gentleman who always lived in Terms of Friendship with the Secretary interposed in his Favour is more than I can determine, or whether after the Restauration it was found convenient to have Recourse to *Thurloe* for the right Understanding the Measures pursued during his Administration, I cannot say. This however is certain, that he was not only suffer'd to retire without Trouble, but was treated likewise with great Respect, as he on his Side shew'd a Readiness to oblige the Government, as far as lay in his Power, by communicating to the Lord Chancellor such Lights as were thought necessary for the Publick Service<sup>g</sup>.

The Author of his Life tells us that he chose *Great Milton* in *Oxfordshire* for the Place of his Retreat, and seldom came up to Town except in Term-time, when he resided at his Chambers in *Lincoln's Inn*. He likewise tells us that he was often solicited by King *Charles II.* to engage again

<sup>f</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 897, 898.      <sup>g</sup> *Ibid.*  
vol. i. p. 739.

in the Administration of Publick or at least of Foreign Affairs, to which this Writer says he seemed greatly averse, being doubtful whether, as he should be complicated with many other Persons of different Characters, he should be able to serve his Majesty with equal Success as he had done his former Master *Cromwell*: These are this Writer's own Words, who adds that Mr. *Thurloe* observ'd to the King it was *Cromwell's* constant Rule *to seek out Men for Places and not Places for Men.* As this Tale is told without any Voucher or Authority, I take the Liberty to tell you my Opinion of it, which is, that it cannot be true, and I shall give you three good Reasons for it, the first is, that this must have been spoken at a Time when the King had the best Ministry about him that ever this Nation was bless'd with, when *Clarendon* was Chancellor, *Southampton* Treasurer, the Duke of *Ormond* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Nicholas* and *Morrice* Secretaries of State. 2. This would have been very assuming, and it is impossible to believe that a Person of Mr. *Thurloe's* Breeding and in his Circumstances should say such a thing as this. 3. The Story carries in it a manifest Absurdity, for a Man must have wanted common Sense and common Decency, who could reproach King *Charles II.* with *Cromwell's* Policy, in seeking out Men for Places, and not Places

for Men, in the very Instant when this Prince submitted to sollicit *Thurloe* to come into the Administration, who to be sure was worthy of a Place. Take it altogether Sir, and you see that to make an aukward Compliment to Mr. *Thurloe* he is represented as reflecting on the best Ministry we ever had, setting himself above them all, and telling King *Charles* to his Face that he was no body in Comparison with *Cromwell*, and this for a Reason destroyed by the very Story. The Truth is, Mr. *Thurloe* was of quite another Cast.

As to his Person he appears to have been a graceful well made Man, we have a very fine Print of him before this Book and yet it falls short in the Sweetnes of his Countenance of an Original Picture of Mr. *Thurloe's*, which I have seen at Mr. *Blackwell's* a Druggist in *Holbourn*, and which is indeed one of the best Pieces I have ever looked on. In respect to his Temper I have heard from such as were acquainted with him, that he was a Man of great Mildness and Modesty, but withal had a very high Spirit and a Firmness of Mind not to be subdued. His Letters and the Minutes that we have of Speeches and Reports made by him in Parliament shew his Capacity to have been great and his Manner of expressing himself is perfectly suited to such as he address'd: There is a great Solemnity in what  
was

was offer'd to the Parliament, a becoming Warmth and an engaging Plainness in his Letters to *Henry Cromwell* and the rest of that Family, and such a Propriety of Thought and Elegance of Stile in his Epistles to the Lord *Broghill*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, as manifest a wonderful Extent of Genius, regulated by a steady and piercing Judgment.

As I have given you a long Account of the Man, I shall be the shorter in what I have to say as to the Book, which as I told you is a voluminous Collection consisting chiefly of a Series of Papers discover'd in the Reign of King *William*, in a false Ceiling in the Garrets belonging to Secretary *Thurloe's* Chambers, N° XIII. near the Chapel in *Lincoln's Inn*, by a Clergyman who had borrow'd those Chambers, during the long Vacation, of his Friend Mr. *Thomlinson* the Owner of them. This Clergyman soon after disposed of the Papers to the Right Honourable *John Lord Somers*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, who caused them to be bound up in 67 Volumes in folio. These afterwards came to be possess'd by Sir *Joseph Jekyll* Master of the Rolls; upon whose Decease they were purchased by the late Mr. *Fletcher Gyles* Bookseller. They contain a very great Variety of Authentick Memorials of the *English* History from the Death of King *Charles I.* to the Restauration of his Son King *Charles II.* with some few Papers

Papers between the Year 1638 and the Commencement of that Period. Amongst these are Letters written by the Council of State, and Instructions, Letters from Ambassadors in all Parts, from all the great Officers employ'd in the Civil Government at home, from the Major Generals and other Officers of a mixed Authority, from *Cromwell's* Family, from Persons in Power in the Plantations, and from Admirals and other Sea Officers abroad. Besides these there are vast Numbers of intercepted Letters from Persons of all Parties, full of Secret History and private Intelligence. Letters to and from foreign Ministers, a large Magazine of Informations as to Plots of all Sorts, with a prodigious Heap of Miscellaneous Papers which can fall under no general Head whatsoever.

Besides these, there are a great Variety of Papers of a like Nature which have been communicated by several Persons of great Distinction, such as the Lord High Chancellor, the present Earl of *Shelburne*, who is descended from the great Sir *William Petty*, one of the most considerable Men this Nation ever produced, *Joseph Jekyll* Esq; *William Cromwell* Esq; Great Grandson to the Protector *Oliver*, *Jos. Radcliffe* of the *Inner Temple* Esq; the Learned *Nicholas Mann* Esq; Master of the *Charter-House*, and the Industrious and Intelligent Mr. *Thomas*

*Thomas Ruddiman at Edinburgh.* These Papers are ranged throughout the seven Volumes according to their Dates, and indeed I do not see how they could have been put into any other Order. The first Volume however is a kind of Supplement to the rest, and extends lower in point of time than any of them. It is certain that in so great a Number of Letters, Papers, Proposals, Informations, Projects, &c. there are many very curious and instructive, and very many which serve only to swell the Collection to very little Purpose, and yet I must say I cannot tell how these useless Papers could possibly have been left out; it would have been a very difficult thing for any Man to have said in many Cases this Paper is insignificant, and if he had said so and others had been of a contrary Opinion, New Collections would have been made and the last Evil would have been worse than the first, the Supplements to *Thurloe* might have been more numerous than the Volumes which form this Collection. In Cases of this Nature great Allowances must be made, as all Proper Judges will admit, and as for the Censures of other Folks they do not deserve to be regarded. Original Papers are of such Consequence to History that the Publick can never pay too dear for them, how just soever the Complaints may be of private Persons.

I am now come to the last Part of my Task, which is indeed by far the most difficult ; I am to give you some Instances of the curious Things that are to be met with in these Books, in doing which I shall avoid all Quotations as much as possible, and present you with the Substance only of what I have met with. To have thought of any Method according to which I might have digested these Remarks would have been so much Time thrown away, since the Editor found it impossible to put the Book into any other than that of a Merchant's File, where the last received Letter is slipt upon that which came before it. The Way I used therefore was I think a very natural one; I consider'd the whole Collection as a Dictionary of personal History, and began to reflect with myself what Points there were in it which it could afford me Satisfaction. The first of these that struck my Memory, though really I can scarce tell you why, was the Character of Mrs. *Barlow alias Walters*, though it ought to be *Walters alias Barlow*, for the first was her true Name, who was the earliest Mistress of King *Charles II.* and who came over hither and was made Prisoner in *Oliver's* Time.

You know Sir as well as I, what fine Stories we have been told concerning this Lady, which I own would have been of very little Importance, if this Country had not once

once been very near, and indeed in some Measure was, turn'd into a Field of Blood on a Dispute whether she was the King's Mistress or his Wife. Some of our Historians are remarkably tender of this Fair One, they say that Miss *Lucy Walters* of *Pembroke*shire had a fair Reputation and was a very fine Woman when Prince *Charles* grew acquainted with her, which was about his eighteenth Year, he was naturally very amorous, and it seems the Violence of his Passion for this Lady threw him into a Disease which might have had bad Consequences, if her good Nature had not cured him. By this Act of Complacency she drew a very common kind of Illness on herself which ended on the 9th of April 1649 by the Birth of a Son *James* afterwards Duke of *Monmouth*<sup>h</sup>. The future Fortunes of this young Nobleman drew his Mother's Character into Question, so far into Question that King *Charles* II. found himself obliged to make a publick Declaration that he never married or gave any Contract of Marriage to that Duke's Mother, and Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, who was said to have had that Contract in a black Box, did likewise declare before the Council, that he never saw or heard of any such Thing<sup>i</sup>. Upon this we are told in the Work of a

<sup>h</sup> See the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Life in the Second Volume of Lives English and Foreign.

<sup>i</sup> *Kennet, Echard, Rapin.*

Right Reverend Historian, that a *Scotch* Gentleman long in the Service of the King abroad, had the Particular Care and Custody of the Duke of Monmouth's Mother and buried her at *Paris*. He often said positively that the King had never any Intention to marry her, and that indeed she did not deserve any such good Intention towards her, being a very ill Woman<sup>k</sup>. The Reverend Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* is more courtly, he say Mrs. *Lucy Barlow alias Walters* had no other Crime but her yielding to the Charms of the young Prince, who had so strong a Passion for her that it gave many Occasion to believe she was really married to him, though the wiser Part of the World were afterwards convinced of the contrary<sup>l</sup>. Let us now hear what may be collected from these Papers in relation to this Affair from the Authority of Persons who wrote when Things were recent, and were perfectly acquainted with the Matters about which they wrote, and which therefore deserves more Credit then the *Say So* of any Writer, of what Quality or Function soever, at a great distance of time, and perhaps writing under the Byafs of his Passions.

The Letters I have mention'd were written by Mr. *Daniel O Neile*, whose Character as a

<sup>k</sup> Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 381.

<sup>l</sup> *Echard's History*, p. 786.

Man of Honour and Integrity may be found at large in the Histories of the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond*. His first Letter is dated from the *Hague February 8.* 1656, and therein he tells the King that he is under very great Pain for the Conduct of Mrs. *Barlow* there, for every idle Action of hers brought his Majesty upon the Stage, and that he was ashamed to have importun'd his Majesty so much on her Account. In the same Letter he says, that there were People at *Cologne* who flatter'd her so strongly on the Head of his Majesty's warm Affections for her, that she was no longer to be govern'd, and that the same People had persuad'd her that his Majesty would not take her Child from her. He hints at some other Things which he says the King shall be inform'd of when he has the Honour to wait on him <sup>m</sup>, but seems afterwards to have changed his Mind as appears by a second Letter which contains abundance of strange Particulars.

This second Letter is likewise dated from the *Hague 14 February 1656*, and Mr. *O Neile* observes, that before he set Pen to Paper he took Care to be perfectly inform'd of the Truth of what he wrote as to this Mrs. *Barlow*. He charges her with living in a most infamous Manner with Mr. *Thomas Howard*, who was Gentleman of the

<sup>m</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 683.

Horse to the Princess of *Orange*, and married to a Lady for whom the King had a great Esteem, he says farther, that she had twice been with Child by this Mr. *Howard*, but by the Assistance of a Midwife had deliver'd herself from any Apprehensions on that Account, which Information he had from the Midwife herself. He goes farther still, and tells his Majesty that she had been wicked enough to attempt the Murder of her Maid who was privy to these Stories, by thrusting a Bodkin into her Ear when she was asleep. For these extravagant Acts he says she would have been brought to publick Shame, if, by his Intercession with the Father and Mother of Mrs. *Howard*, as also with the Maid, to whom he was obliged to make a Present of 100 Guilders, he had not prevailed upon them to be silent. He complains in the same Letter, of Lord *Taff*'s writing to her, and telling her that the next Money the King could either get or borrow, she should be supplied. Mr. *O Neile* says this is not the way to govern her, that she ought to be kept in Necesity, if he desires to manage her at all. He likewise tells him in direct Terms, that if he will own that Child, he ought to send her his positive Commands, to deliver him to whomsoever his Majesty should direct<sup>n</sup>. The very same Year it appears that she with her Bro-

<sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* vol i. p. 684.

ther *Justus Walter*, Mr. *Thomas Howard* above mentioned, two of her Children and a Maid, came over from *Holland* hither, and lodg'd at a Barber's over against *Somerset House*. The Name of the Maid was *Anne Hill*, who upon their being taken up seems to have been examined by Secretary *Thurloe* himself, and to have given him the fullest Account she was able of them all, which Account amounts to no more than this, that her Lady was Mistress to the King, who is stiled *Charles Stuart* in the Examination, that she had one of her Children by him, that Mr. *Justus Walter* was her Brother and Mr. *Thomas Howard* an Acquaintance, that though they lived privately they were very full of Money, and that in case the King was restored they expected great Matters <sup>o</sup>. We have likewise a Letter of Colonel *Barkstead's* who was Governor of the Tower of *London*, wherein he gives the following Account of what Mrs. *Barlow* had said to him upon her Examination, That she had been acquainted with the King and had a Son by him. She said also that for the two Children that were with her she had them by her Husband in *Holland*, the Business she pretended to have in *England* was to recover fifteen hundred Pounds left her by her Mother. Colonel *Howard* gave an Account of his commanding a Regiment of Horse for

<sup>o</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 160.

the King in the last War, and of his being Master of the Horse at present to the Princess of *Orange*, but both the Lady and he agreed exactly in this, that they came over together by Accident<sup>p</sup>. Thus far *Thurloe*, but it seems that when the Protector was throughly informed of the Matter, he dismiss'd her out of Custody as disdaining to seem afraid of Women. It is plain from hence that the King could never think of making this Woman his Wife, nor is it at all credible that if she had been his Wife, he would have left her to have acted in this manner, or that any of his Dependants would have treated her with that visible Contempt which *ONeile* does in the Letter before mention'd. For the future therefore I shall look upon this Piece of Secret History as perfectly settled.

After fixing this nice Point in relation to King *Charles's* Conduct, I shall next tell you some extraordinary Particulars that occur here with respect to the Duke of *York*. You know as well, or indeed better than I, what is said by Lord *Clarendon* of that Prince's Conduct during his Exile, and I dare say you'll easily call to mind what *Burnet* reports of K. *Charles* hating him, but I believe you ne-

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 169, 178, we have the same Story in *Whitlock's* Memorials, and an Account of her Discharge, but there it is exprefly faid she claim'd to be the King's Wife, whereas here we see the contrary from her own Examination.

ver heard the true Grounds of it. In this Collection there are abundance of Letters from one Colonel *Bamfylde*, who appears by his Writing to have been a very sensible Man, well acquainted with the World, and extremely fit for the Office he had undertaken, of giving Intelligence from all Quarters. This Man was at *Paris* in the Month of *November*, 1656, and acting, as People of his Trade generally did, as a Friend to the King's Interest, tho' a known Agent of *Cromwell's*. In this Capacity he very frankly tells Secretary *Thurloe*, that he had discoursed Sir *John Berkley*, who was the Duke of *York's* Governor, upon some Scheme or other for his Royal Highness's Service, which Sir *John* relish'd indeed, but not so well as another Proposal he had made of his Highness's marrying the Protector's Daughter, both which Proposals, it appears from this Letter, were made by Secretary *Thurloe's* Direction, and in order to serve some private Purpose of his. What that last Proposal was, or *Thurloe's* Purpose in making it does not appear; but surely the Fact which is evident, *viz.* That there was once a Treaty with the Duke of *York*, is a very extraordinary thing and worth Notice, It appears from the same Letter, that the King had cautioned his Highness against having any thing to do with this Colonel *Bamfylde*, and yet by the Advice

of Sir *John Berkley* he received his Propositions, and concealed them from his Brother<sup>4</sup>.

After the Account of his Negotiations the Colonel proceeds to give his Judgment of the Duke of *York's Capacity*, and of the Condition he was in to give Umbrage to the *English Government*, which is so extraordinary that I must repeat them to you. "Upon the whole Matter, says he, I dare engage my Life, that while the Duke of *York* was here, he had neither Design nor Correspondence in *England*, not so much as for Money; and I do less believe, that he will have any now, whilst he lies under the strict Observation of a suspicious Brother, neither his Humour nor Parts rendering him capable of the Management of it himself. And for Sir *John Berkley*, who is the only Person about him proper for such an Affair, he is so suspected and over-looked as to that particular, and is naturally so cautious, that he will never adventure on such a Negotiation without the privity of *Charles Stuart*, besides, with your Royal Party he is lost, and to the Presbyterians, if there can be Reason in this Conjunction to suspect them, he is not known. In fine, the elder Brother has so much Jealousy of the younger, and so little Affection for him, that he will

<sup>4</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. v. p. 511.

" never consent to his having any Commerce in *England*, if he had Conveniences for it there, and abounded with those Qualifications he wants, for the improving it to their joint Advantage. This I believe you will find to be the Truth in the Conclusion, what other Advertisements soever you have received of the last Spring of his great Designments, which I dare say were purposely given you to render me suspected." I must own that to me it is a clearer and more curious Account of the Duke of York's Temper and Behaviour in those Times, than any I have met with in our Memoir Writers.

By several subsequent Letters from the same Person it appears, that King *Charles* coming to the Knowledge of those Intrigues, and disliking Sir *John Berkley's* Conduct, dismissed him from his Post of Governor to the Duke, at which his Highness taking great Offence, quitted the King's Court with much Resentment. One would be amazed at the Folly of this Conduct, considering the Situation the King's Affairs were then in. It was with Difficulty he found Meat for those he had about him, and it appears very clearly from this Book, that he very often put himself to great Shifts to support some about him who betray'd him, and who in reality had no other Bu-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

E 2

siness

siness about him than to betray him. Yet this same Colonel *Bamfylde* would afterwards have persuaded *Thurloe*, that this Quarrel between the King and his Brother was a meer Feint, and that in reality the Duke of *York* only quitted his Brother's Company, that he might with less Suspicion put himself at the Head of desperate Persons who were about to invade *England*.

It seems that most of these Dealers in secret Intelligence had found out, that nothing fetch'd so much at Market as Accounts of Plots against the Protector's Life. Colonel *Bamfylde*, who had the best Head of them all, touch'd this String with great Dexterity. In one of his Letters he tells *Thurloe* that the Duke of *Buckingham* was very angry with *Cromwell* for the severe Character he had given him, and had sworn a desperate Oath, that if he could not make himself well with him, he would kill him. To push the Matter home he says, that the Duke having broke off all Correspondence with the Protector's Party, had very lately two or three Audiences of *Charles Stuart* without saying about what, yet to prevent the Secretary's mistaking, he tells him that the King had abundance of desperate Persons about him, of whom he gives a List together with their Characters, which are well worth your hearing. *Imprimis*, Major *Af-*

*Ibid.* p. 754.

*cot,*

*cot*, who had murdered three or four, one *Shelden*, one Colonel *Tuke*, who had killed four in Duels, and who was then going over into *England*, Captain *Man*, and another, whose Name he could not get, but had learned a very remarkable Circumstance of his Life, *viz.* That he was one of those who killed *Rainsborough*, he names also one Colonel *Rogers*, and another Person, all whom were professed Assassins, and yet were very intimate with the King. No doubt this Letter brought the Author a considerable Remittance, as it served to shew the Secretary's Diligence, and the Protector's Danger<sup>t</sup>. To say the Truth, this appears to have been the best Season in the world for Plotting, and however *Cromwell's* Life might be hazarded, his Government was supported by it; for *Thurloe* play'd with Conspiracies as a Cat does with Mice, and whenever it was thought convenient, play'd them off with great Dexterity for his Master's Service.

At the latter end of the first Volume there is a very large Collection of the Letters of one Mr. *Corker*, under the Name of *Symond's*, which relate to that called Dr. *Hewet's* Plot, by which 'tis plain, that the whole of the Doctor's Designs were constantly and regularly betray'd to *Thurloe*, and, which is still more extraordinary, the Informer, Mr. *Corker*, intimates more than

<sup>t</sup> *Ibid.* p. 511.

once,

once, that he was so much perplexed with the Secretary's Sham Plots crossing the true one of which he was in Search, that he found it very difficult to distinguish Friends from Foes, or to avoid sending a Detail of his own Contrivances for authentick Intelligence.

This Plot of Doctor *Hewit* makes a considerable Figure in *Cromwell's History*, and it is certain that the Marquis of *Ormond* came over to put himself at the Head of the Cavaliers in case of a Rising, yet this *Corker* gives none of the capital Circumstances to the Secretary, but only Hints and Memorandums, especially as to Person's Names which shews he was only trusted to carry Messages and some particulars which I think may be justly suspected to be of his own Invention, especially the following Receipt which he tells *Thurloe* if he was a Fowler might be of some Use to him.

*A Receipt to make Gunpowder strong enough to shoot the Protector Oliver through his Coat of Mail.*

“ Take some Grains of Pepper, the white  
 “ is the most proper, steep them 24 Hours  
 “ in the strongest *Aqua vitæ*, mix three or  
 “ four Grains with as much Powder as will  
 “ charge a Pistol, and the Pistol will carry  
 “ twice as far, and consequently pierce  
 “ twice as deep as it would without it ”.

Above

Above all Mr. *Corker's* Epistles abound with Assasinations, sometimes he talks of poisoning the Protector, at others, of way-laying him as he went to *Chelsea* to Bowls, then that six Gentlemen, each attended by six trusty Servants, would attempt it, nay he extends this Matter to the Secretary himself, and in one of his Letters mentions the *Spaniards* Dislike to Chancellor *Hyde*, and the King's Fear of dismissing him because trusted with all his Secrets, which inclined his Majesty to think of shooting him rather. But for all this Intelligence *Corker* appears to have been but indifferently rewarded, since sometimes he complains that three quarters Salary was due to him and at others to Mr. *Samuel Morland*, who was *Thurloe's* Clerk, he presses him extremely to put the Secretary in mind of it, and get him a little Money, the better to deserve which he sends a List of 60 Lords and Gentlemen whom he charges with Treason, and offers to send such a List for every County in *England*, if they were desired, which shews how little Safety Men enjoy'd in those sad Times.

When the Plot grew riper and there were Thoughts of seizing, he had a hundred Pounds given him, but that seems to have done him little good, since he returned quickly to his old Trade of begging fresh Supplies <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 720.

This

This Man's Intelligence in all probability irritated the Protector against Doctor *Hewit*, who was clapp'd up in Prison, brought before the High Court of Justice, and on his refusing to acknowledge their Authority, had Judgment pronounced upon him as a Mute, in consequence of which he lost his Head on *Tower-Hill June 8. 1658*, notwithstanding the strong Intercession made for him by Mrs. *Cleypole*, the Protector's favourite Daughter, who is thought to have broke her Heart on being refused his Life. He was a Man of a very fair Character and not at all like either in his Temper or Manners to what he is represented by this *Corker* in his Letters. He suffer'd with great Firmness and Presence of Mind, being attended on the Scaffold by the famous Doctor *Barwick*, to whom he gave a Ring just as he submitted his Head to the Block with this Inscription, *Alter Aristides*, which the Doctor kept to put him in mind of his Duty, in case he came to the same End <sup>w</sup>.

This Act of Violence, for such it apparently was, incens'd the World exceedingly against *Cromwell's Government*; and as many of late, who are unacquainted with the History of those Times, frame to themselves magnificent Ideas of the Protector's mighty Power abroad, and publick Spirit at home, I think

<sup>w</sup> Dean *Barwick's Life* by his Brother Doctor *Peter Barwick*. p. 176.

it may not be improper to give you part of a Letter which will set that Matter in a true Light, and shew by what Methods the People were kept under, and with what Difficulty a Man preserved his Liberty in those Times, which some would cry up as the glorious Days of Freedom. The Letter, of which I give you a Part, was written by one Mr. *Marcellus Rivers*, to Major General *Brown*; this *Rivers* had been transported to *Barbadoes*, the Cause you will learn from his own Words, and I need only add that the Parliament, from whom he expected Protection, was the Protector's last Parliament, which he dissolved suddenly, and with much Indignation.

Sir,

Having had former Experience of your Goodness, and having been eased by your Hand upon my Letter, when I was heretofore under some Oppression, that gives me the Confidence and you the Trouble of this second Letter. Though you cannot now singly help me, yet in conjunction with the others of your great Assembly, I hope you will further mine and all the others Liberty, who are now Slaves at *Barbadoes*, and Petitioners at your Bar. For if this Man's stealing Trade hold good, that all they that were at the *Salisbury* Rising, shall be sold to the *Indies* for Slaves, because they

F

were

were there, and all those too, that were not at the *Salisbury* Rising, shall be also sold thither because they were not there, which is the Case of a great Number of the Petitioners, who never either saw *Salisbury*, or heard of the Rising, or knew why they were committed to Prison, yet found themselves indicted for Treason; and being then quitted by the Jury of Life and Death, are notwithstanding that Acquittal enslaved. If this be allow'd, an easy Understanding will quickly find what must necessarily become of all the People of *England*. And these Merchants of Men shelter themselves, and hope to continue and increase *England's* Slavery by an unheard of Wile, which unless this brave Assembly of Parliament do wisely look into, and vigorously stand to their own and the People's Preservation, they themselves may chance to be cheated of Lives, Liberties and Estates; and the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London* by this Law, will in time not be spared by these *West Indian* Spirits. These subtle Sophisters do not seem to be so impudent, as publickly to establish Iniquity by a Law, for that the free People would perceive, though they might not be able to help; but these use the way of a more fly Violence, and pick up free People travelling upon their Occasions, and take others out of their Houses, upon pretence of publick Justice, and so do piouly shelter and

and effect their own private and profitable Malice. Of the former Number I believe the greatest Part of the Petitioners are, but that's no matter, they were as proper Men as those taken in Arms at *South Moulton*, and some of them of better Trades, and so would prove more profitable Commodities, and so would yield more Sugar than these Gentlemen that could not work so lustily; but I will Instance but in one, taken out of his House, though I could name more. There was one Mr. *Diamond* a *Devonshire Gentleman* at his Gate, three-score and sixteen Years of Age, taken up at *Tiverton*, and the greatest Offencee that they accused him to be guilty of was, that when Sir *Joshua Wagstaffe* and the Party came through that Town, and the poor old Gentleman unexpectedly wondring to see so many gallant Men travelling together, ask'd who they were? and it was answer'd Cavaliers. Marry said he, they are very brave Gentlemen, were I as young as I have been I would go along with them. Whether he said so or no, God knows, I know not, but that was all they had to alledge against him, which they never went about to prove, though he was kept a Prisoner a whole Year, most of the time in the Inner Prison of the common Goal amongst the Felons and Murderers, from which the High Goal of *Exon* is never free, and all the rest of the time in a Room in

Straw, amongst three or fourscore Prisoners more. And he was so far from being indicted that he was never so much as examined by a Justice of Peace, and yet was this good old Gentleman ravish'd away from the Bosom of the Wife of his Youth, and from the Youthful, but now unhappy Children of their aged Parents, notwithstanding his Age and Innocence, for it might have been charitably looked upon as an Effect of his Dotage, though he should have said as dangerous Words. This aged Gentleman was driven on Ship-board, the grave Matron his Wife and their Children follow'd him with their affectionate Tears and heart-breaking Groans as far as *Plymouth*, but never saw him so much as to take Leave of him, but sent to him on Ship-board to let him know, that they were come thither to mourn with him at parting. But off from the Ship-board he might not pass to salute his Wife and bless his Children, though it had been to have saved his Soul: And to him he forbid them to come upon his Love and Blessing for fear they should make him yet more miserable in being snatch'd away with him. Thus was this aged Gentleman thrown out of this conversable World at the least, if not really into his Grave; all the Voyage bemoaning himself as a miserable Man to be stollen away from his Aged Wife, of whose constant Affection he had Scores of Years

Years Experience, and who would now break her Heart for Grief, and never be able to see her own home again. In this high Agony of Love and Grief, and Fear and Danger, above all he was troubled that he should go out of the World leaving his poor Country in this slavish Condition, which he had so many Years heretofore seen noble and free. Now Sir if this be the Liberty and Privilege of the Subject so long promised us, the People of *England* are in a sad Condition, and if there be no Redemption of us, already enslav'd by a tyrannical Force, for whose Service our Masters have nothing under our Hands to shew, nor have we any thing under their Hand to shew whether ever or never the Term of our Slavery shall end<sup>x</sup>.

We see by this Letter to how great Distress *Cromwell* was driven, since it must be owned he was too knowing a Man to have run willingly into such Measures. We see too how little respect this new Government had, either to the Laws of the Land, or the Liberty of the Subject. The Fact stated in this Letter far surpasses in Violence and Severity all that ever were laid to the Charge of the former Government, and were at the same time things notorious, such as the Adherents of *Cromwell* could not deny to be true. We need not wonder therefore that the Tide turned so strongly and suddenly in

<sup>x</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 745.

favour

favour of the exiled King, such harsh, such arbitrary Proceedings convinced the People, that in destroying their old Constitution they had been ruining themselves, and that while they fancied themselves fighting for Liberty they were in reality doing their utmost to change Subjection for Slavery, the mild Regimen of a legal Establishment for a whimsical kind of Tyranny, which was perpetually changing it's Form, and yet implicit Obedience was expected to every new Form, under pain of suffering in case of Neglect as a Traytor. In such a Case, what Wonder if every thinking Man became a Royalist?

To make this still more clear, I will lay before you Part of a Letter which is entitled *An Information about a Plot*. The Paper is unsign'd, and seems to have been directed to the Lords of the Council. The Person who wrote it pretends only to relate what he heard from one *Tudor*, whom he calls *Tider*; in all probability he had the Substance of this Account drawn up for him, but be that as it will, it contains a true Picture of the Times, and shews that the most considerable Persons in all Parts of the Nation, and of all Sects and Parties, were grown into a perfect Hatred of *Cromwell*, and resolved to run any risque to rid themselves of his Tyranny.

He (*Tudor*) told him, that most of the Presbyterian Nobility, and divers of the old

old Parliament Men would have risen for the King. Then I asked him how he could know their Intentions, to which he replied, that one of the King's Servants was sent out of *France* to give notice of the Design to one Mr. *John Markham*, who lives in the *Savoy*, and he was to prepare the Lords, and *Lenthall*, the old Speaker, was to give notice to such of the old Members who (in the beginning of *March* last) had sent a Gentleman to assure the King, that if he could but land five or six thousand Men in the *West*, all *England* would rise for him, and he should neither want Men or Money; for that the Tyrant *Cromwell* did intend to destroy the Nobility and Gentry, and inflame the People by taking away both Law and Gospel, and then to govern by an arbitrary Power; that he disengaged all Men but his Party, most of the Army being mere Atheists, for there had not been a Communion since the Army came into *Whitehall*; but if *Cromwell* had heard and relieved the People's Grievances, and called the old Members to an Account, as was expected and pretended when he dissolved the Parliament, and so have taken off Taxes, he would thereby have so won the Hearts and united the Affections of the People to him, that it would have been a hard Matter to have oued him, and now that he doth intend to make himself a Monarch, his Ambition

bition would destroy him, the Army being divided upon that Occasion. That Colonel *Pride* had told one Mr. *Corcellus*, his intimate Friend, a Brewer, that he, Colonel *Hudson*, Colonel *Rich*, Colonel *Joyce*, Major General *Harrison*, and divers of the Army in *Scotland*, had resolv'd to oppose him in case he would take Monarchichal Government upon him ; and this was the Substance of the Message sent to the King. Then I asked Mr. *Tudor* what Lords had engaged, and he told me *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, the Lord *Roberts*, *Manchester*, *Northumberland*, *Gray of Wark*, and divers others ; and that there were a Party to rise in the City that should be commanded by Major General *Browne* ; and Sir *William Waller* was to command the *Westminster* and *Middlesex* Forces, and so every Lord and Parliament Man was desired to rise in that particular County where he had most Power ; that Sir *Thomas Middleton* had undertaken to raise Men for *Denbighshire* ; and one Mr. *Edward Vaughan*, a powerful Man, for *Montgomeryshire* ; and one Mr. *Henry Vernon* had undertaken to bring in his Cousin Sir *William Bruerton*, to raise Forces in *Cheshire* ; and that Sir *Henry Chomly*, *Harry Darly*, and *James Challiner*, had undertaken to bring in the Lord *Fairfax*. That *Bell* the Apothecary and Sir *Robert Pye* were to be Treasurers, to keep such Moneys as should be

be sent in for *Westminster*; and Sir *Gilbert Garrard* for *Middlesex*; for *London*, Alderman *Vickers* and one *Charles Floyd*, who had fined for Alderman; Sir *George Whitmore*, Mr. *Heningham* and Sir *William Plater* designed for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; Lord *Coventry* and Mr. *Lechmere*, the Lawyer, for *Worcestershire*; the *Stephens'* for *Gloucestershire*, the *Harleys* for *Herefordshire*; Sir *Hugh Owen* and his Brother for *South Wales*; and that there were four Treasurers appointed for the four Inns of Court, for the *Inner Temple* Mr. *Twisden* and Mr. *Wichcote*, for the *Middle Temple* Mr. *Thomas Whitmore*, for *Lincoln's Inn*, Mr. *Love*, the other Clerk, and for *Grays-Inn* Mr. *Pelham*, who had been Speaker; for *Surry* Sir *Richard Onslow* and Mr. *Ambrose Browne*; for *Kent* Sir *Stephen Leonard* and Sir *Humphrey Stiles*; for *Sussex*, Sir *Thomas Pelham* and Colonel *Morley*, with others for other particular Counties whose Names he could not so well remember. Sir *Thomas Alston* and his two Brothers for *Bedfordshire*. And this is the full Relation as near as I can remember, of all was told me by Mr. *Tudor*, as he had received it from the King's own Servant, who had the same related to him by his Majesty when he sent him over. And further he said that four Citizens Sons had sent the King 8000*l.* George *Prat*

G 2000*l.*

2000*l.* Esq; *Boon* 2000*l.* Mr. *Richard Bennet* 2000*l.* and *Currauce* the Taylor's Son 2000*l.* all which Money the King had received before he came over; and which Message so sent over to his Majesty, he did verily believe was the first Occasion of this Plot against the Lord Protector <sup>y</sup>.

At first sight there will appear nothing very curious or instructive in this Paper, but when it is more narrowly look'd into, it will appear in quite another Light. It is my Opinion as I told you before, and when you have attentively consider'd it, it will be yours, that the Matter and Words of this Paper came from two Hands, the Language being as low as the Subject is high, and the Informer introduced purely for the Sake of laying Facts with some sort of Evidence before the Council. Then Sir reflect with yourself what an uneasy Situation the Protector *Cromwell* must have been in, when the Principal Nobility and Gentry in the Kingdom were embark'd in Designs against his Person and Government, or at least had given just Grounds to suspect they were embark'd in such Designs. I remember Doctor *Skinner*, in his Life of General *Monk* tells us, that it was the Opinion of that intelligent Person that if *Oliver* had lived much longer he would have found it a hard Matter to have kept his Seat. At this dis-

<sup>y</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 749.

tance of time it would have been difficult to have found sufficient Evidence to justify General *Monk's* Sentiment, if this Book had not appeared. But from *Thurloe's* Papers, and especially from this I have laid before you, it is manifest that his Scheme of Policy began to be generally understood, and in consequence thereof to be as generally detested. His own Confederates hated him for inclining to be King, and why? Because this was fixing that Power to his Family, which they help'd him to acquire, and which they thought to enjoy in their Turns. On the other Hand all the old Patriots, all the stirring Members in the Long Parliament were Enemies to his Administration. They had contributed to the Destruction of the House of *STUAR T*, not from any particular Dislike to that Line, as some late Writers have foolishly imagined, but because they thought the two late Kings affected arbitrary Power, and for this very reason they were as angry with *Cromwell*. They had acted, struggled and fought against one Tyranny, and were therefore of all People the least inclined to submit to another. The only Prospect they had of Redemption was by restoring their old Constitution, and thus the Mystery is explain'd, and we see clearly, that the very same Men who were necessary to the Death of *Charles I.* without any particular Malice to his Person, became the

Instruments of King *Charles II's* Restoration without any great Affection either for him or for his Title. This Sir is a Truth, an important Truth, the certain Knowledge of which we owe to the Publication of these Papers, as we are indebted to the happy Liberty of the Present Times for the Freedom of making such Reflections as these, without which the reading of History would be, but a very useless Labour.

What extraordinary Schemes were entered into for rivetting the Protector's Government upon the People, how burthen-some and how disagreeable soever it might be to them is likewise made sufficiently plain by abundance of pieces in this Collection, but particularly by an extraordinary Paper which bears this Title: *Some Proposals for the keeping out the Family of the Stuarts.* The Author lays it down as a thing impracticable to be done unless some considerable Army be kept on foot, and then he lays down these Rules for modelling that Army, and rendring it effectual for this Purpose.

That if this Army be not so composed, that it may serve these Ends, as well for Interest as for Pay, it may be the readiest Instrument to destroy these Ends.

That all those Persons, which are Possessors of the King's Lands, Dutchy Lands, Bishops Lands, Dean and Chapter Lands,  
Fee-

Fee-farm Rents, Delinquents Estates, are fittest, by reason of their Interest, to maintain those Ends,

That in order thereunto, they should be drawn to raise a competent Number of common Troopers and Soldiers, which with ordinary Forces may serve to preserve and secure the foresaid Interest.

That the fittest Persons to begin this Work are the Soldiers, for if they be persuaded to begin, Means may be easily found to draw in the rest.

Reasons to induce the present Soldiers to relish this Proposition are these: That without such a Way, the Army, after some time, will become Men of another Interest; for these dying and leaving their Lands to their Wives and Children, such as are not fit to be, or shall not be, of the Army, hereby the Interest will be divided from the Army, which if it happen, and thereby some Change come, the Soldiers Lands are likely to be pluck'd at, and taken from them and their Heirs. And the future Armies themselves that have no part in this Interest, may envy the Interest of the former Army, and leave it undefended to others, or perchance be willing to share it themselves.

That this Undertaking being a Way of Insurance, it will advance the Value of these Estates, and whereas such Estates as are now valued

lued at ten or eleven Years purchase in Marriages and other Transactions, they will by such an Insurance grow to be of the same Value with other Men's Estates, so that what they lose yearly in a Part, they will get upon the whole.

And for other Purchasers which are not Soldiers, they cannot but think such an Insurance very valuable, both for the former Reasons and because most of them may be liable to be question'd for not paying the just rates appointed by Parliament, having gotten Debentures upon a low and inconsiderable Price.

Care should be had in propounding the Business, that the foresaid Possessors be drawn to give Men and not Money, because otherwise they may be jealous, that the Money may be diverted to some other Uses; and because the Men, when they are not in Exercise or actual Service, may be employ'd by those that maintain them, which will make the Burden lighter; and for their further Satisfaction they may chuse the Persons themselves, who shall be common Soldiers and Troopers, that they may be assured thereby, that they shall be such as shall uphold their Interest.

This being effected, and thereby a considerable Number of common Soldiers being raised, they may be commanded by such Officers,

Officers, as shall be chosen by the Lord Protector, and paid by the State; which will be sufficient to subject them to his Command.

If the Lord Protector make Choice of such Persons to be Commanders, as are interested in these Lands, and do contribute to the Maintainance of Men as aforesaid, it may much add to the Security of this Interest. Besides when Men see that the Maintainance of Soldiers for the Preservation of this Interest may be a Way to Preferment, it may be a Motive to them the rather to consent to this Maintainance.

It must be acknowledged that this Schemie is drawn up with much Skill and Address, and was as well calculated for the Purpose it was intended to serve, as any Schemie could be; for it went on this plain Maxim, that to interest the People in the Preservation of the Government was the most effectual Means to preserve it. Yet let me propound to you some Objections to this Schemie, which though I allow it (and I take it to be *Thurloe's* own) excellent in its kind, yet I think it was, as things then stood, absolutely impracticable, or rather ineffectual, for these Reasons. First, by this contrivance that Support which might have rendred the Protector's Government independent, was taken away. While the Supream Magistrate has an Estate in Land sufficient to maintain the ordinary Expence of his Administration, it must be his own Fault

Fault if he is insecure, but if once he comes to depend for his Subsistence upon his Subjects, it will require all his Prudence to watch for his own Safety, and perhaps that will be found little enough too. Secondly, By this Scheme all the Churchmen and all affected to the Church were rendred irreconcilable to the Protector, and his Enemies were numerous enough before ; besides, this Plan undoubtedly provoked the Presbyterians, whose Teachers had in *Idea* swallow'd all the Church Lands already. Thirdly, the setting up of a perpetual standing Army lost the Nation at a Blow, discovered plainly the Design of ruling by Force, and treated a stronger Spirit of Resistance than it provided a Bridle to restrain.

The Protector *Oliver*, and the few he trusted, were certainly Men of Sagacity in respect to their own Interest, and knew very well how to vary their Conduct, as Circumstances made it necessary. But by degrees these Arts failed them, or rather were worn out. They had in their turns cajoled and deceived every Party in the Kingdom, even down to the poor Royalists who were already so stript and plunder'd that they were scarce worth cheating ; and this Sunshine of Favour induc'd *James Howell* to write a Book and address it to the Protector, wherein he boldly inveigh'd against the Power of Parliaments, and openly vindicated King *Charles I.*

in

in the whole Dispute with his Parliament, which Book was very well received and thereby plainly proved that Monarchy at the bottom was what *Oliver* aim'd at, and perhaps a more absolute Monarchy than any of our Kings pretended to, since he frequently took such Liberties with Parliaments as left them only the Name of Parliaments, a thing unthought of by the most Enterprizing of our Princes. Yet all this would not do, the People had hitherto such a Veneration for those Assemblies that no Art could remove, no Force could exterminate, and therefore his Highness was obliged to bear the Inconvenience which he could not possibly remove. His very Army loved Parliaments, and his Republican Officers grew as weary of his Usurpation as the Cavaliers themselves, which gave him infinite Disquiet when he discerned the true State of things, and how little it was in his Power or that of his Party to alter it.

With a View to extricate himself out of these Troubles, the Cause of which he plainly saw to be deviating too far from the old Constitution, he resolved to return to it or at least to approach as near it as he could. In this he was encouraged by the Lawyers, especially *Whitlock* and *Lenthall*, both able Men, though both had suffer'd themselves to be carried along by the Torrent and for the Sake of acquiring large Fortunes had

gone on for many Years in a Course they secretly disapproved; There is good reason to believe that *Oliver* suspected the Fidelity of each of them and with reason; for they both had some Intercourse with the King. He was however very willing to obtain their Advice and ready to act by it, because he thought them prudent and timorous Men, who in consulting their own Safety might point out the Road to his. From the Hints they gave, he took it into his Head to revive the Upper House of Parliament, or rather to create a new one, under the Title of the *other House*. How indifferently this Scheme succeeded, and how after wearing and wearying out all who opposed him, he at last wore and wearied out himself, will be seen in the following accurate Account which is preserved in this Collection of Papers. It was written by Mr. *John Maidstone* to *John Winthrop* Esq; Governor of the Colony of *Connecticut* in *New England*, and if you abate for the Antiquity of the Style and a few Strokes of that Enthusiasm which was the common Vice of the Age, you will judge as I do, that in this small Picture you have a very handsome Likeness of *Cromwell* and his Government, so that by viewing it attentively you cannot but discern things as they were, and especially those Circumstances which the Author seeks most to conceal.

This

" This other House, says he, was to consist  
 " of seventy Persons all at first to be nomi-  
 " nated by the Protector, and after as any  
 " one dyed, a new one to be nominated by  
 " him and his Successors, and assented to  
 " by themselves, or without that Consent  
 " not to sit: Twenty of them was a Quo-  
 " rum. It was no small Task for the Pro-  
 " tector to find Idoneous Men for this Place,  
 " because the future Security of the honest  
 " Interest, seemed (under God) to be laid  
 " up in them; for by a moral Generation  
 " (if they were well chosen at first) like  
 " Foundationals in the gathering of a Church,  
 " they would propagate their own kind,  
 " when the single Person could not: And  
 " the Commons (who represented the Na-  
 " tion) would not, having in them for the  
 " most Part, the Spirit of those they repre-  
 " sent, which hath little Affinity with or  
 " respect to the Cause of God. And indeed  
 " to speak freely, so barren was the Island  
 " of Persons of Quality spirited for such a  
 " Service, as they were not to be found,  
 " according to that of the Apostle 1 Cor.  
 " i. 26. *Ye see your calling, not many wise  
nor noble, &c.*

" This forced him to make it up of Men  
 " of mean rank, and consequently of less  
 " Interest, and upon Tryal too light for Ba-  
 " lance, too thin for a Screen, and upon  
 " the Point ineffectual to answer the De-

" sign, being made a Scorn by the Nobility and Gentry, and Generality of the People; the House of Commons continually spurning at their Power, and spending large Debates in controverting their Title, till at length the Protector (finding the Distempers which grew in his Government and the Dangers of the publick Peace thereby) dissolved the Parliament and so silenced that Controversy for that time. And that was the last that fate during his Life, he being compelled to wrestle with the Difficulties of his Place as well as he could, without Parliamentary Assistance, and in it met with so great a Burthen, as (I doubt not to say it drank up his Spirits, of which his natural Constitution yielded a vast Stock, and brought him to his Grave, his interment being the Seed-time of his Glory, and *England's* Calamity. Before I pass further, pardon me in troubling you with the Character of his Person, which by reason of my nearness to him, I had opportunity well to observe.

" His Body was well compact and Strong, his Stature under six foot (I believe about two Inches) his Head so shaped as you might see it a Storehouse and Shop both of a vast Treasury of natural Parts. His Temper exceeding fiery as I have known, but the Flame of it kept down for the most Part

or

" or soon allayed with those Moral En-  
 " dowments he had. He was naturally  
 " compassionate towards Objects in distress,  
 " even to an effeminate Measure; though  
 " God had made him a Heart, wherein was  
 " little room for any Fear, but what was  
 " due to himself, of which there was a  
 " large Proportion, yet did she exceed in  
 " Tenderness towards Sufferers. A larger  
 " Soul I think hath seldom dwelt in a  
 " House of Clay than his was. I do be-  
 " lieve if his Story was impartially trans-  
 " mitted and the unprejudiced World well  
 " possess'd with it, she would add him to  
 " her nine Worthies, and make up that  
 " Number a *Decemviri*. He lived and  
 " died in comfortable Communion with  
 " God, as judicious Persons near him well  
 " observed. He was that *Mordecai* that  
 " fought the Welfare of his People, and  
 " spake Peace to his Seed, yet were his  
 " Temptations such, as it appeared fre-  
 " quently that he that hath Grace enough  
 " for many Men, may have too little for  
 " himself, the Treasure he had being but  
 " an earthen Vessel, and that equally defi-  
 " led with Original Sin, as any other Man's  
 " Nature is.<sup>a</sup>""

I might (but that it would have been tedious) from the same Paper have continued the Account of publick Affairs

<sup>a</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 766.

through

through all the Changes of our Government to that which was very properly call'd the Restauration. The Restauration of what? of a King to the Throne of his Fathers, of the Royal Family to their Rights, this had often happened in our Nation before and yet we never dignified the Æra with the Title of RESTAURATION. There was then certainly something more in it, and that something was the reviving of our Constitution, the replacing of our Nobility in their *House*, and their Houses, instead of the Brewers and Coblers that had unaccountably got Possession of them; and thus this Farce of a Commonwealth, this strange Sight of a Nation walking with it's Heels uppermost came to an End, and the People, as if they had started out of a drunken Fit, and had just recover'd their Senses, after a little scratching their Heads and rubbing their Eyes came to themselves, and began to mind their Business. *Praise God Barebone*; the Leatherseller confined his Thoughts to his Shop, and dreamt no more of becoming a Legislator, the Clergy mounted the Pulpit again, and the Word of God was preach'd in a Style a sober Man might hear without forfeiting his Gravity, the Law resumed it's Power and became an Umpire between King and People, nor were honest Men any longer frighted by a *High Court of Justice*, which ran as high in it's Proceedings

ings as in it's Title, and exceeded even the Court of Inquisition in Tyrany and Oppression; in fine our Gentry came again into their Estates, our Merchants renew'd their old Correspondencies, for the Nation recovered her Credit abroad and we were no longer looked on as Barbarians that could not bear with Patience the mildest Form of Rule that ever took place among a civilized People. And might not this Sir be truly called a RESTAURATION, when the King, the Lords, and the Commons, Clergy and Laity, Lawyers, Soldiers and Sailors, had their own again, and the Satisfaction of knowing they should keep it? As a Proof that this was the Sense of all wise and honest Men at the time it happen'd read the following Letter from Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, the Protector *Oliver's* second Son, to the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, and you will discern the Force and Truth of these Reflections.

“ May it please your Lordship, when the  
 “ Declaration was framing, I did abhor to  
 “ be so unreasonable as to seek any parti-  
 “ cular Provision for myself in it. But  
 “ when I saw myself secured with the Mul-  
 “ titude, and when his Majesty by his spe-  
 “ cial Letters and Promises declared, that  
 “ though indeed I had scaped in the Crowd,  
 “ yet that he had a particular Mercy for  
 “ me; and when I saw he could not be

pre-

" prevailed upon to unsettle others, who  
 " perhaps (abating my Name) were greater  
 " Offenders, I did then presume to insist  
 " upon that his Mercy, nor could I believe  
 " (with some) that my so doing was dis-  
 " honourable unto his Majesty, And your  
 " Lordship (being above making an Interest  
 " by trampling on the Fallen, or by being  
 " bitter against things that came to pass  
 " by God's secret Providence) have most  
 " nobly and Christianly patroniz'd me in it,  
 " even to Success; and for this in a few  
 " Words I give your Lordship my eternal  
 " Thanks and Prayers. I might perhaps  
 " have better expressed these my Sentiments  
 " some other way; yet I have presumed to  
 " do it thus by a Letter, that there may  
 " remain a Testimony of Infamy upon me,  
 " if ever I abuse the admirable Mercy I  
 " have found, either by future Disloyalty  
 " to his Majesty, or Ingratitude to your  
 " Lordship. And I wish your Lordship  
 " would add one favour more, which is to  
 " assure his most excellent Majesty, and his  
 " Royal Highness (how hard or needless  
 " soever it be to believe me) that few can  
 " wish their Royal Persons, Family or In-  
 " terest more Prosperity and Establishment  
 " than doth, may it please your Lordship,  
 " &c <sup>b</sup>:"

<sup>b</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 733.

This Gentleman Mr. *Henry Cromwell* had indeed deserved very well of the King and of the Nation, for in *Ireland* he governed with great Justice and Moderation, and was remarkably civil to the Royalists, as *Ludlow* also was from a Principle of Honour. After the Restauration Mr. *Henry Cromwell* lived many Years in a happy Retirement. His House was but a little Way from *Newmarket* where King *Charles* did him the Honour of a Visit twice, and when he heard that Mr. *Cromwell* was dead of the Gravel, he express'd a great Concern that he had not taken some Drops for that Distemper, which his Majesty prepared. This shews how cordial the Reconciliation was on both Sides and how little even the most untoward Circumstances render good natur'd Men suspicious of each other. His elder Brother *Richard* out-lived him long, and in Queen *Ann's* time he had Occasion to appear in the Court of Chancery on Account of a Suit, in which he was very ill treated by his near Relations. Lord *Cowper* who presided in that Court, as soon as he saw him, order'd him a Chair, for which, when he came next to Court, the Queen thanked him, and declared if Mr. *Cromwell* had come into her Presence she would have done as much. He died, I think, the latter End of her Reign at his House at *Cheshunt* in *Hertfordshire*, where

he had lived for many Years in great Ease and Safety.

I have now run through the first Volume of *Thurloe's Papers*, and have given you an Account of such as I thought would divert you most, but before I close this Letter I must take Notice of somewhat that might seem to contradict what I have told you in Relation to Mrs. *Barlow*. There is towards the End of the Volume, amongst the Papers communicated by his Grace the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, two Letters from the Princess of *Orange* to King *Charles II*. Part of which I shall lay before you, and then tell you what I think of them, and how they may be reconciled to what I have already advanced.

The first of these is dated from the *Hague* May 20th. 1655, and concludes thus, "Your  
 " Wife is resolving whether she will write  
 " or no, therefore I am to say nothing to  
 " you from her; but will keep open my  
 " Letter as long as the Post will permit,  
 " to expect what good Nature will work,  
 " which I find now does not at all; for  
 " it is now eleven a Clock and no Letter  
 " comes <sup>d</sup>."

The second Letter is dated *Hounsfeldike*  
 21 June 1655, and concludes with these  
 Words. "Your Wife desires me to pre-  
 sent her humble Duty to you, which is

<sup>d</sup> *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 665.

" all she can say. I tell her it is because  
 " she thinks of another Husband, and does  
 " not follow your Example of being as  
 " constant a Wife as you are a Husband;  
 " 'tis a frailty they say is given to the Sex,  
 " therefore you'll Pardon her, I hope ."

You will own that at first Sight there is something strange in these Letters, and that considering the Princess of *Orange* was the King's Sister, she ought to know as well as any Body whether the King had or had not a Wife, and that her Authority in that Respect ought to be decisive. But then Sir give me leave to observe in the first Place, that neither of these Passages could possibly refer to Mrs. *Barlow*, she was not a Woman to whom the Princess of *Orange* ow'd such a Deference as to wait till she was in the Humour of Writing, to keep her own Letter open for her, and to make such an Excuse for her not writing at last. It is impossible to imagine that the Princess of *Orange* and Mr. *O Neile* should write in such different Stiles of the same Person and almost at the same time too, especially, supposing her to have such a Relation to the King. In the next Place the Language of both Letters seems to intimate that the Lady here referred to was not a Wife in the strict Sense of the Word. Such a one would scarce have demurred about writing,

\* *Ibid.*

12

nor

nor would it have been decent for the Princess to have said of her, that she turned her Thoughts on another Husband. I am therefore clearly of Opinion that this was some Princess or Lady of great Quality (perhaps the Princess of *Tarentum* then at the *Hague*) who had danced with the King in some Mask in the Character of his Wife. This I take to be both a clear, and natural Explication of this Passage, such a one as agrees perfectly with the Manner of her Highness's Writing, and reconciles at once the Sense and the Stile of her Letter.

But because this is a matter of some Importance, and I would willingly leave you without Doubts in the Affair, I must trouble you to look upon part of two other Letters, written to the King by his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, and which occur in the very same Collection, because as I take it, they set this Matter in a clear Light, and prove that the Sense of the former Letters is precisely that which I have given you.

The first of these is dated from the *Hague* Dec. 13. 1655, wherein her Majesty speaks thus of the Princess of *Orange*, and of the Manner in which they passed their Time at that place. " My dear Neice recovers her  
 " Health and good Looks extremely by her  
 " Exercises; she twice dancing with the  
 " Maskers has done herself much good.

" We

“ had it two Nights. The first time it was  
 “ deadly cold, but the last time the Weather  
 “ was a little better. The Subject your Ma-  
 “ jesty will see was not extraordinary; but  
 “ it was very well danced. Our *Dutch*  
 “ Ministers said nothing against it in the  
 “ Pulpit; but a little *French* Preacher,  
 “ *Carre*, said in his Sermon we had com-  
 “ mitted as great a Sin as that of *Sodom* and  
 “ *Gomorrah*; which set all the Church a  
 “ laughing. For lack of better Stuff I  
 “ write this <sup>f</sup>. ”

The second Letter is dated 17th of the next Month, wherein her Majesty after a few Lines of Busines writes thus. “ Though  
 “ I believe you had more Meat and Drink  
 “ at *Hanibal Seifstat's*, yet I am sure our  
 “ Fidlers were better, and Dancers. Your  
 “ Sister was very well dress'd like an *Ama-*  
 “ *zon*; the Princess *Tarante* like a Shep-  
 “ heress; *Madamoiselle d'Orange*, a  
 “ Nymph, they were all very well dress'd:  
 “ Mrs. *Hare* was a *Swisser's* Wife, but  
 “ I wish of all the Sights your Majesty had  
 “ seen *Vanderdus*; there never was seen  
 “ the like; he was a *Gipsie*; *Nan Hide*  
 “ was his Wife; he had *Pantalon* close to  
 “ him in red and yellow, striped with ruf-  
 “ fled Sleeves: He looked just like a *Jack a*  
 “ *Lent*. They were twenty six in all, and  
 “ Danced till five a Clock in the Morning.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* p. 672.

“ We had a great Feast at Prince *William's*  
 “ Child's Christning. It was Supper; and  
 “ there we had Dancing also, as upon Fri-  
 “ day last at the Princess *de Tarente's*.”

This evidently proves that Masking was the favourite Diversion of the Family, at least of the female Part of it, and if I carry it farther and suppose it as agreeable to the King, I think these Letters will bear me out, for certainly the Queen would never have written so much upon such a Subject, if she had not known it would have diverted the King. But I am afraid I have tired you a little with my Criticisms. To make you amends I will divert you with a Letter which is not in this Collection, an Original of King *Charles II's* on his Marriage. It is in the Earl of *Oxford's* celebrated Collection and is subscribed C. R. in a Cypher, and superscribed. For the *Chancellor*. It runs thus.

“ *Portsmouth 21st May*  
 “ 8 in the Morning. I arrived here Yester-  
 “ day about two in the Afternoon, and as  
 “ soon as I had Shifted myself, I went into  
 “ my Wife's Chamber whom I found in  
 “ Bed by reason of a little Cough, and  
 “ some Inclination to a Feaver, which was  
 “ caused as we Physicians say, by having  
 “ certain things stopt at Sea, which ought  
 “ to have carried away those Humours, but  
 “ now all is in their due Course, and I be-

<sup>s</sup> *Ibid.* p. 674, 675.

" lieve she will find herself very well this  
 " Morning as soon as she wakes.—It was  
 " happy for the Honour of the Nation, that  
 " I was not put to the Consummation of  
 " the Marriage last Night, for I was so  
 " sleepy by having slept but two Hours in  
 " my Journey, as I am afraid, that Matters  
 " would have gone but very sleepily. I can  
 " now only give you an Account of what  
 " I have seen a Bed, which in short is, her  
 " Face is not so exact as to be called a  
 " Beauty, though her Eyes are excellent  
 " good, and not any thing in her Face that  
 " can in the least Degree shock one. On  
 " the contrary she has as much Agreeable-  
 " ness in her Looks altogether as ever I  
 " saw, and if I have any Skill in Phisiog-  
 " nomy, which I think I have, she must  
 " be as good a Woman as ever was born.  
 " Her Conversation as much as I can per-  
 " ceive is very good, for she had Wit  
 " enough and a most agreeable Voice. You  
 " would wonder to see how well we are  
 " acquainted already. In a Word, I think  
 " myself very happy, for I am confident  
 " our two Humours will agree very well  
 " together. I have not time to say any  
 " more. Mr. Lord Lieutenant will give  
 " you an Account of the rest."

When I thought of Transcribing this  
 Letter it was only to divert you, but I since  
 recollect that it may be also of some Use.

Bishop

Bishop *Burnet* in his History tells us, that he saw the Letter the King wrote to the Earl of *Clarendon* the Day after his Marriage, by which it appear'd very plainly that the Marriage was consummated, and that the King was very well pleas'd with her. You have seen the Letter and can therefore judge how much the Bishop could depend upon his Memory. Indeed the greatest Use Papers of this Kind are of, is the fixing Facts, Dates, and Circumstances, in which respect our modern Collections of Letters seem to me as useful as Collections of ancient Medals, and it is certain that if ever able Men undertake the History of the last Age, they will be able to write it with more certainty and greater Impartiality than perhaps any History yet extant, which would undoubtedly be a great Advantage to the Nation, since it would shew us Men and Things in their true Light, and prevent, if any thing can prevent, our running again into like Mischiefs <sup>b</sup>,

If this Specimen should please you, I believe I may be tempted to run through the other Volumes, and I begin to think I could digest my Notes into some Sort of order. We have already several Lives of *Cromwell*, but I know none that deserves any great Commendation, and I think a Multitude of Errors might be corrected in

<sup>b</sup> *Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 174.

them

them all from this Book. Such of them as were written immediately after *Oliver's* Death are either filled with Adulation, or over-flow with Satyr. Such again as have been written in our own Times are more Romances than Histories, and seem design'd rather to shew us the Writers Principles, than to instruct us in Facts relating to the Protector's Government.

The first Piece that I believe appeared of this kind bore the following Title : " History and Policy review'd in the heroick Trans- actions of his most Serene Highness, *Oliver*, late Lord Protector, from his Cradle to his Tomb : Declaring his Steps to Princely Perfection; as they are drawn in lively Parallels to the Ascents of the great Patriarch *Moses*, in thirty Degrees, to the Height of Honour." This Performance fell from the Pen of *Henry Dau- beny* Esq; who dedicated it to the most serene Highness of *Richard*, by the Grace of God, Lord Protector of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*. There is not much of History in it, but a strange Flow of Enthusias- tick Panegyrick. In direct Opposition to this stands another Life which bears this Title : " *Flagellum*, or the Life and Death, Birth and Burial of *Oliver Cromwell* the late Usurper faithfully described; with an exact Account of his Policies and Successes." As warm a Spirit of Pre-  
K judice

runs through the Book as through the Title, and much of the Matter often for whole Pages in the same Words is taken from *Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars*. There is however more of History in this than in the former, especially at the beginning, where there is a very just Account of his Family and first Fortunes. In the Middle betwixt these we may rank a third Life. intitled "The perfect Politician, or a full "View of the Life and Actions, military "and civil, of *Oliver Cromwell*; contain- "ing also a History of the late Civil War, "so far as he was concerned therein, "whereunto is added his Character and a "compleat Catalogue of all the Honours "conferr'd by him on several Persons." This is a more moderate and I think a better wrote Piece than either of those which I have mention'd. From these and from what is to be met with in *Clarendon*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, Sir *Roger Manley's Commentaries*, the *Memoirs of Lord Holles*, General *Ludlow*, Major *Huntington*, &c. our later Lives have been collected, and therefore I shall not be particular as to them.

What I intend, if you are not quite tired already, is, to give you the *Annals* of his Government from the time of his dissolving the long Parliament in *April 1653* to his Death in *September 1658*, a clear

clear View of his Politicks, as they are represented to us by *Thurloe* in his own Letters, such Particulars as relate to his private Life and serve to let us into his true Character, the real Services he did the Nation by the Severity of his Temper, which inclined him to support an Appearance of Religion, and to compel a more than ordinary Strictness of Morals. To this I propose to add some Accounts of his two Sons *Richard* and *Henry*, of whom hitherto we have had but lame ones. The Characters of his principal Favourites, and of such as most warmly opposed him, so as to give you in a very narrow Compass a clear Idea of his Administration without Prejudice or Partiality; for though I can never be perswaded that these were Times which deserve, as many think, to be envied, yet I must likewise own that *Cromwell* has been as undeservedly cry'd down as he has been out of measure cried up. The Business is to judge fairly of him by taking in all the Circumstances of his Conduct, and not to view him in a particular Light, which may either disgrace or favour him too much.

I shall conclude this Letter with the fulfilling the last Articles of my Promise, which were to shew you why the World express'd so great a Desire to see this Collection published, and what Reception it has met

with since it came abroad. I have already accounted in some Measure for the first, and shall therefore only add, that I have reason to think the Care taken by my Lord *Somers* in binding and preserving these Papers was no small Motive to the Curiosity which the Publick express'd about them. That Nobleman was an excellent Judge, and at the same time a warm Lover of whatever related to *English History*. He bound up according to their several Sizes all the Historical and Political Pamphlets which were published in his Time, many of which I have seen, and of some of which I am possess'd, and in such as related to Parliamentary Affairs, he was so curious and exact, as to procure the King's and Chancellor's or Lord Keeper's Speeches in Manuscript when they were not Printed, and bound them up in his Collections to render them more compleat. I do not therefore wonder that the Care he took of Secretary *Thurloe's* Papers recommended them so effectually to the World, since to good Judges the known Character of Lord *Somers* was a sufficient Inducement to believe whatever he collected must be worth reading, and to the many who buy Books because they will be in the Fashion, his Rank, Title and Reputation were more than sufficient. If you add to this the Encouragement given by the present Archbishop

bishop of *Canterbury* and Lord High Chancellor, Men infinitely more distinguished by their Merit than by the high Offices in Church and State which they possess; you need not wonder that so large a Subscription was obtain'd, even though I omitted a Circumstance which greatly contributed thereto, the personal Credit of the late Mr. *Fletcher Gyles*, which was as great as any Man of his Profession.

From the Account I have given you of the Book, and your own perfect Knowledge of things of this Nature, I know you will not be surprized when I tell you, that several with whom I have conversed are not struck with the Contents of these Seven Volumes; these are People, however, of confused Ideas, who either purchase things upon the Credit of other People's Opinions, or are led by vague Notions of their own. But such as knew what they were doing, such as desired to collect authentick Memoirs of that busy Period, and to satisfy themselves as to the Truth of those Facts, which we find so smoothly recorded in the Histories of *Clarendon*, *Kennet*, and *Echard*, are perfectly well satisfied. It requires not only good Sense and solid Judgment to collect History from such Pieces as these, but a great Measure also of Prudence, Patience and Industry. Such as are blest with these Endowments know how to collect

lect the History of *England* from the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Revolution from other Sort of Writers than either General Historians or Authors of Memoirs, and to these People, who value Truth more than Stile, and are more concerned about the Certainty of Facts than the Manner in which they are deliver'd, *Thurloe's Papers* will be extremely welcome and will be thought a proper Supplement to *Rushworth's* and *Nelson's Collections*. In general, however, this Work is as much esteem'd as it deserves, and I dare say the more it is read and the deeper People enter into it's Contents, the better they will like it. It is now more than time that I should put an End to your Fatigue and my own by submitting what I have done, and what I am to do, to your Judgment and Discretion.

*I am, SIR,*

*With much Affection,*

*And true Respect,*

*Your sincere Friend, and*

*Very humble Servant.*

n  
n  
o  
n  
c  
n  
r  
s  
o  
e  
o's  
v-  
it  
ad  
n-  
is  
an  
b-  
m

nt.